UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Is There a Race Problem?

By JESSE H. HOLMES

Living Religions and the Bahai Movement

By WALTER WALSH

A Soldier's Monument in a Country Town

By EDWIN D. MEAD

VOLUME XCIV NUMBER 12

Chicago, December 8, 1924

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIV MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1924 NUMBER 12

OUR CHALLENGE

We do not mean to stand where we are. Have we then not found the truth? We have, but we need more. Have we not seen the light? Yes we have, but how it shines unto the perfect day, we have yet to see. Dewdrops of heavenly joy and peace have we gathered and tasted, but the vast ocean of Divine joy still surges before us. Therefore we mean to go further and further, under the guidance of God, in the path of ever-increasing wisdom, love, purity and joy, never satisfied with what is achieved, but always panting and struggling for fresh acquisitions. Our Scripture is not closed, but fresh chapters are still being written and added year after year. What the Lord will reveal to us ten years hence, who knows save He? We thank Him for the revelation He has already vouchsafed unto us, but more He will yet reveal. So has He told us. Towards fuller light we shall, therefore, prayerfully and reverently press forward.

—Keshub Chunder Sen.

What has happened and is happening in Egypt is of too great moment for us to comment upon it prematurely or hurriedly. We prefer to let the event develop its consequences before we attempt to interpret its significance. May we simply say at this time that we regard the English ultimatum as the most fateful event that has occurred since the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia in 1914, and that we believe that we have here the final and perfect test as to whether the world has been changed, and the prospects of peace improved, to the slightest degree, by the establishment of the League of Nations and the World Court. If England can put through what she has begun, we are right back again where we started. If not, then something has really happened.

It thrills us to think of the position now held by Senator Borah in the counsels of the nation. His triumph in Idaho was the one best piece of news which came to us in the election. At that time it was our hope that President Coolidge might make him the Secretary of State of the new administration. The death of Senator Lodge, however, with the resulting transfer to Borah, as chairman, of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate, already has given him a post which even the Department of State cannot rival. His position is one of extraordinary advantage. On the one hand, he is a member in good and regular standing of the Republican Party, enjoying the very especial esteem and confidence of the President. On the other hand, he is in excellent relations of friendship and goodwill with the Progressives, with whose spirit and general purposes he is in entire sympathy. His years of service in the Senate and his chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee give him a primacy of influence in that body which is unquestioned. Whoever may be chosen to the titular position, Borah of Idaho from this time on is the "leader" of the upper house of Congress! Added to all this is the universal admiration in which the Senator is held by the citizens of the country, who see in him the outstanding statesman of the hour. Best of all is the basis of this admiration—Borah's simple and stalwart character, his impressive intellect, his vast legal knowledge, his commanding eloquence, his courage and independence, his utter devotion to the nation's higher interests. The Senate has seen no such outstanding political figure since the days of Sumner, or perhaps even of Webster and Clay. Just to think of Borah is to be reminded of the great days of that august body. And it is this man who is to determine, if not direct, the nation's policy in all such matters as Russian recognition, the Dawes Plan, Allied debts, relations with Latin and South American countries, and the Outlawry of War! Our one hope is that the President may secure a Secretary of State capable of appreciating Borah and working with him. If this is done, the foreign side of the Coolidge administration is secure.

How important does the great presidential election seem as we get some distance away from it? Not very. For one thing we can see now that there was no great moral or human issue at stake. Perhaps we should not expect often to find such issues made conspicuous on so great a scale as a national election. You have the spectacle of a vast and rather disorderly march, where those in the rear have not as yet caught sight of the ground on which the front ranks stand. If you say that the procession is divided into parties, the Rights and the Lefts, the Conservatives and the Radicals, then you must add that each of the parties bears the same general aspect as the tumultuous total bears. The people at the head of each differed little from the crowd at the head of the other. Few of them could tell what they wanted except, as in the late war, simply to win. Those in the rear of each party also averaged the same finger prints as the rear ranks of the other line. Who could say what it was all about? There was material for one or the other of the parties to make into a great

platform of policy. Suppose one of them had said: We propose to publish to the world that the United States will never invade the territory of another nation. This one item of friendly policy would in itself put an end to the imperialistic policy for which alone we now maintain our war establishment. It would alter our attitude towards every nation and the temper of all the others toward us. This change of foreign policy would mean the speedy cut of half a billion of our ordinary military expenditure.

When it came to the voting, is it not likely that most men voted by force of habit or even heredity, and therefore with more or less blind prejudice, for the party name which they always associated with their friends, their set, or their section of country? Then, a great many votes meant: "The times are hard; give us the least possible change, lest we fall from bad to worse." Is it not noteworthy and cheering that the number of fairly independent voters increases all the time? Many thousands of these will change sides in the desire to be with the winners. They do not take party allegiance seriously. In the last election a considerable part of the landslide is traceable to a queer sort of personal preference for Mr. Coolidge. He was said to be a chilly character. Nevertheless, this dry Yankee, taking his cat every night by the scruff of the neck and putting him out, holding his tongue in the midst of the talkers, not too much concerned with the niceties of political ethics, but almost garrulous about ordinary morality and "law and order," was the apparition of a "man of the people," lifted by divine Providence into the White House!

One of our editorial staff, living in Iowa tried systematically to find out why some people voted as they did in the election. His experience was illuminating! One man said he voted against Brookhart for Senator because he had to be introduced to him every time he met him. Another said he voted against him because he was conceited. Another said he voted against LaFollette because he was egotistical. Another said he voted for Coolidge because LaFollette couldn't do what he promised to do; if he thought he could, he would have voted for him. Another said he voted for Coolidge because he was afraid that the big business interests of the country might make it hard for him. Another said, "Coolidge represents the moneyed interests. The big money interests have always run the country, so we might as well let them." We submit that these "reasons" contain not a whit more sense than the reason of the sorority girl who said that she voted against a certain candidate because she knew the niece of the candidate and didn't like her.

The advance made by the colored people in America since the Civil War compels the admiration of all who know the facts. This admiration grows to astonishment when the handicaps under which Negroes have labored are realized. In 1916 the U. S. Dept. of Education reported that the average amount of money spent per white child for education in 16 southern states was $9.38. The average for colored children was $3.96. The greatest discrepancy existed in Louisiana where the cost for education per white child was $13.73, and per colored $6.13. Kentucky was the banner state. It actually paid forty cents more per colored than per white. Undoubtedly the situation has improved since 1916, but these figures reveal one of the serious handicaps which has rested on the colored people of the South from the beginning. The U. S. Bureau of Education in its bulletin No. 90 reports an average school term in 1917-1918 of 111 days for colored schools and 148 for whites. The evidence in school equipment shows the same lamentable discrepancy in opportunity. These facts must bring a blush of shame to every lover of his country and at the same time increase our admiration for the remarkable progress made by the colored people.

Perhaps the richest thing that has been brought to light by the anti-"Red" propaganda that has been fostered by former Attorney-General Daugherty, General Fries of the Gas Warfare Service, and Mr. Whitney, Secretary of the National Defense League, is the discovery that the child-labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States was conceived in Moscow. This outreaches in its absurdity the charge that Mrs. Maude Wood Park is a "Red," and even the charge that the Y. W. C. A., the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the National Council of Jewish Women are engaged in a plot to hand America over to the Bolsheviks. We will next hear that the Declaration of Independence was conceived in Moscow; that, by some metaphysical process, the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln was conceived in Moscow. Perhaps someone will discover that Senator Lodge's opposition to the League of Nations was due to influence from Moscow. For all sheer "bunk" that was ever presented to the American people, the charge that the child labor amendment was produced in Moscow is palpably the worst. For nearly a score of years the American Child Labor Committee has been working to remove the blot of child labor from the escutcheon of America. To-day in beet fields and in cotton mills and in literally scores of other forms of employment, the very blood and sinew, to say nothing of the souls, of little children are being ground into money. No savage people were ever found in all the researches of science who found it necessary to live at the expense of child life. Now those who want to continue this abominable shame, this crime against childhood, have no argument to sustain their position better than the perfectly idiotic

one that "the amendment was conceived in Moscow." This is a pitiful revelation of the depths of infamy to which poor miserable souls will descend. The folks who fatten on arousing the fears of people by conjuring up all sorts of impossible goblins, are the most pitiful spectacle in American life to-day.

It sure is amusing, in this year of our Lord, 1924, six good years after the close of the Great War, and a decade since its beginning, to see the newspapers suddenly getting excited over the question as to whether Poincaré and the French had anything to do with causing the European conflict. Despatches are meagre, but what seems to have aroused even our most ardently one-hundred per cent journals is the publication in Paris of some of the private note books of Georges Luis, French ambassador to St. Petersburg just previous to the outbreak of the war. We have a strong suspicion that M. Luis's testimony about Poincaré's entanglements with Russia has been known for a long time to those who have cared to know; but, whether or not, his demonstration that Poincaré was completely under the control of M. Isvolsky, Russian ambassador in Paris before the war, and conspired with him to bring about the conflict with Germany, serves to confirm afresh what has long since been proved from abundant sources of information by men like Demartial in France, Morel in England, Neilson and Nock, Fay and Barnes right here in America. Good heavens, have our newspapers never heard of Bausmann's "Let France Explain," to refer to no other work upon this subject? Apparently they have heard of nothing, for they take this news about Luis's notes as a sensational disclosure, and call upon Poincaré to deny or to confirm. Indeed, the Chicago *Tribune* even goes so far as to speak of Poincaré as "the Bismarck of his time and country," and to compare what the former did in 1912 and 1913 with what the latter did in 1870. All this is such "old stuff" to readers of UNITY, who will remember Francis Neilson's series of articles in these columns on "The Duty of Civilization," demonstrating conclusively French and Russian responsibility for the war, that we feel almost like apologizing for mentioning the subject again. But it is well to know that the world is catching up with us, and that little by little the judgment of history is justifying what was UNITY's conviction from 1914 on.

Our able and devoted contemporary, the *Christian Century,* is certainly in a peck of trouble. Some weeks ago, in the course of its slashing attacks upon the war institution, it ventured to say something to the point about army chaplains, which by the way we quoted in our "Jottings" column. The statement in question was as follows:

> No man who values freedom of opinion and speech has any business in an Army officer's uniform, just as no Christian minister, whose first allegiance is to Jesus Christ, has any busines in an Army officer's uniform. An army, whether in time of peace or in time of war, is just the sort of thing that can exist only by the partial unmanning of the manhood of those who participate in it.

This is straight talk, and it is not surprising that it has aroused the *Army and Navy Register* (November 8th) to a furious outburst of indignation, and stirred up the Chief of Chaplains, John T. Axton, to a degree of wrath hardly consistent with the mildness of a professed Christian. This talk, say these military authorities, is "nothing short of vilification . . . it is an amazing insult." It "is already the subject of serious consideration for official rejoinder," and will be certain to get "the vigorous condemnation (it) merits." We shall await developments in eager interest, with all our bets on Charles Clayton Morrison, the editor of the *Christian Century.* If Chaplain Axton doesn't find his hands full before he gets through, we miss our guess. Meanwhile we congratulate Mr. Morrison on the fact that his opponents have got to meet him with weapons of reason and not of force. If this were 1917 instead of 1924, and Mr. Morrison were saying one-half or one-quarter of what he is now saying, he would find his paper suppressed as UNITY was suppressed, and his pen silenced as Jenkin Lloyd Jones's pen was silenced. That's the villainous way that the army people act when they have the power. But now they have no power, and so they must meet argument with argument, fact with fact. In such contest, they are beaten before they begin!

Is There a Race Problem?

It is the thesis of this paper that there is in fact no "race problem," but only a personal problem of decent fair play. In the first place there is no such thing as a "race" in the sense in which it is used in discussing the relations of the "races." What we actually have to deal with is a lot of individual people with varying heredity, each one a separate person with his own separate and distinct personality, and not in any reasonable sense a small fraction of a "race." The proper use of the term "race," and of course it has a proper use, is just that vague averaging of people with certain likenesses which we make use of when we lack time, inclination, or necessity to deal with any of them as individuals. Thus I may say that Italians are excitable, that Presbyterians believe in predestination, that Democrats are free-traders, that women tend to generalize on one case, that Teutons are blondes, that Russians are mystics, that negroes are jolly, or that Japanese are too industrious. This is only to say that people who have one thing in common are rather likely, from our ex-

perience, to have another thing in common, and is no more than a convenient starting point in dealing with individuals. It is a handy, rough and ready method of grouping people with whom we have little to do, may become a matter of statistical tables, and involves no "problem" whatever. Anyone who insists that an Italian must be excitable in face of a case where one is phlegmatic is certainly overworking his classification. I know many Presbyterians who not only do not believe in predestination, but do not know what it means; some negroes are morose, and some Japanese are lazy. I do not blame my orthodox friend who starts with the assumption that, as a "Hicksite" Quaker I am a heretic,—whatever that may mean: but if we are thrown into personal relations I expect him to allow me to show my deep-seated conservatism. So these group names are only useful for preliminary judgments, and have no further use when one has had opportunity to deal with individuals. Of course there are cases where one is dealing only with masses, and not with individuals, as in determining the quality of immigrants, and I do not deny the propriety of taking group characteristics into account in such cases. For instance it might be considered undesirable to have an increasing number of citizens believing in predestination, because such a belief must tend to weaken the sense of responsibility. It may be that a mixture of Aryan and Mongol blood tends to deterioration as compared with either pure strain; if so, legislation aimed at preventing such mixture would not be a case of race prejudice but a scientific striving toward a desirable human end. But it should be based on an actual study of race mixture worked out and agreed upon by both parties concerned. We are told it is necessary to exclude the Japanese from the United States, because they work longer hours and have a lower standard of living than other people. A Californian stated the matter thus in my hearing:

> A Japanese farmer buys a rocky field that hasn't much value. He works sixteen hours a day and spends almost nothing. In a few years his farm becomes fertile and valuable and he begins to save money. Then he buys more land or buildings. The Japanese have come to own many hotels in this way.

Now the thing to note is that if a white man (a "Nordic"?) should do exactly this same thing, he would be lauded as a typical American and held up as an example to mankind. It has not been proved that Japanese farmers have lowered the standard of living on the western coast. Many American farmers work long hours. One would like to be sure that it isn't simply a case of envy, and the desire to get hold of values created by another. At any rate, all that has to do with matters of fact and all such should be worked to conclusions without heat or hate. It should not be forgotten that it is one of our American boasts that we forced the Japanese to give up their isolation and to allow us admission and to trade with them by means of a fleet and threatened bombardment.

The "problem" of the negro is also a "problem" of decent fair play among individuals. Of course a negro may be assumed before one knows him, to be more crude and less educated than a similarly unknown white. But what has that to do with the situation when one has found an individual negro to be more cultured instead of less cultured than the average white? One who maintains in the face of actual superiority, a claim of theoretical inferiority is guilty of contemptible meanness. Superiority and inferiority are in most cases matters of demonstrable fact. If not there is a presumption of equality. But superiority and inferiority are not general qualities; on the contrary they have to do with specific traits and powers: strength, beauty, keenness, skill and a dozen more. Probably no one is "superior" in all ways and no one "inferior" in all ways. And one who is superior in any matter of any value, has no need to have it announced. All he has to do is to go on being superior. If he must have it enforced by pains and penalties, it would seem that he isn't very sure of it himself. It is not to be overlooked that many of the least cultured and least effective of the whites are the most insistent on a theoretical superiority, perhaps secretly realizing that in actual competition man to man their chances would not be so good. Another feature to be taken account of is that it is privileges, rather than *duties,* that are demanded by the "superior" people: special cars, special restaurants, special hotels, special sections—always the best—in cities. And this is not because the presence of the "inferior" folk is unpleasant. Even the most superior has no objection to the negro in the parlor car—if he wears a porter's cap, or in the restaurant—if he is behind the chair with a napkin, or in even his own house—if he have some badge of servitude. *Would* it not indicate that he doubts his own "superiority" when it can only be known by labels and uniforms?

As a matter of fact the "race problem" is the problem of a mean-spirited and un-Christian prejudice on the part of the whites. Aside from that there are still problems of economics, of industry, of education, of immigration,—but no race problem. If we can cast out the evil spirits of pride, envy, and all uncharitableness from ourselves we will have gone a long way toward solving all of them. So long as we desire, or even are willing, to gain by the loss of others whom we hold as inferior, so long as we regard our interests as in some way superior to or more important than those of Chinese, or Turks, or Russians or Negroes, our solutions of human problems will have little value. It is true we have accomplished much in harnessing the powers of nature and in accumulating wealth. It remains to be seen whether we have even enough self-control—we whites—to avoid using these powers to destroy ourselves.

Jesse H. Holmes.

Jottings

Sherwood Anderson has a poor opinion of the churches. This is what he says in his "A Story Teller's Story" (page 220):

> In America there were no churches. What were called churches were merely clubs, ruled over by the same forces that ruled over the factories and great mercantile houses.

If this was true twenty years ago, as Anderson states, what about to-day?

"A Story Teller's Story," by the way, is the most fascinating autobiography that we have read in many a long day. It has quite reconciled us to Sherwood Anderson whose novels we have not liked. He still fails to master his material—he has little sense of the form and color he worships so devoutly. But the material in this "Story" is a gold mine, and the man himself a great soul.

We hear fine things about the new Senator from Massachusetts—William M. Butler, late Chairman of the Republican National Committee. But he enters upon a succession—Daniel Webster, Charles Sumner, George F. Hoar, Henry Cabot Lodge!—which might well stagger an even better man. Already the list of names grades dangerously downward. We wonder if Mr. Butler can lift the curve!

The internationally famous "Christian general" of China, Feng Yu-Hsiang, exploited by the *Outlook* and other papers as an officer who disciplined his troops by prayer, etc., is now reported to have caused the downfall of his former commander, Wu Pei-fu, "by treachery." Thus do Christian soldiers, east and west, emulate one another in pious virtues!

Ten years ago an official list of the Allies showed that German casualties amounted to 549,247 in killed, wounded and missing, exclusive of 400,000 similar casualties in Bavarian, Saxon and Wurtenburg armies —a total in four months of 949,247. On this basis of reckoning, the German casualties by the end of the war would have been not less than 11,390,964, or one-sixth the total population of the Empire. Those were great statistics we got ten years ago!

Definitions! Army chaplain—a man who thinks that, if the Nazarene were living to-day, he would wear a military uniform, salute the flag, and be known as Major Jesus Christ, of the 4th regiment, Field Artillery.

J. H. H.

American Notes

(Editorial Correspondence)

Here is a rather typical incident, in American life, given me in a letter received recently. My friend was describing the head of the Department of Business Administration in one of the best colleges in the country, and said, "He was born in Russia, left his home about the age of twelve and wandered about Russia and Europe and finally arrived in New York at about the age of eighteen. . . . He never knew just the date of his birth and at the time of his arrival in this country he could read and write no language and spoke only Russian. . . . He worked in sweatshops and tobacco factories etc., went to night school until he had finished the equivalent of sophomore college work and then entered Columbia University, from which he was graduated. . . . Later he received a M.A. from Chicago University and has had further work,—almost enough for a Ph.D. Through all those years of preparation he has met with great obstacles. . . . He has been for several years in his present position, head of the Department of Business Administration in this Eastern college." He is pleasantly referred to as "one of those immigrants."

William Jennings Bryan is probably the most popular man in America. He would not receive the majority of votes cast in an election—as has been shown a number of times—but for personal popularity, he is premier. Everybody likes him—except the professional politicians. He was in my city for a couple of days last week. He can draw a crowd anytime, anywhere, as sugar draws honey-bees, and for much the same reason—the people like him. He spoke to a big club of big business men at noon-time, and held them for over an hour and a half. Some of the younger members of the club thought they would have some sport with the "commoner"—and they brought into the dining-room a stuffed donkey, a stuffed elephant and a live monkey. The first two are the emblems of the Democratic and Republican parties. He asked that they be removed on the grounds that at this meeting all politics should be ruled out. As to the monkey, Mr. Bryan has been for years a pronounced "anti-monkey" advocate of the origin of man. He said he was not afraid to face his opponent, and requested that the monkey be allowed to remain. During the few days, Mr. Bryan preached in the two largest churches of the city, spoke twice before high school pupils, and gave a two-hour political speech (he is a Democrat).

Mr. Bryan is now over sixty and has been in the thick of political fights for thirty-five years. The remarkable thing about him is that he never shows any trace of bitterness. I went to hear him speak on "Is the Bible True?" Let me enlarge on the meeting, for in so doing I shall give a cross-section of American life. He spoke Sunday afternoon, in a church, to 2500 men. When he entered the room, although the preacher was in the midst of reading a Scripture lesson, there was applause, increasing until the big audience stood up, clapping their hands. (Americans are hero-worshippers, all

right.) When he arose to give his address—which was two hours long—the audience got up a second time. He had captured them before he had uttered a word. I was conscious that he could lead that crowd almost anywhere, at least as long as they remained in the sentimental and emotional realm. He impresses one as Lloyd George does—with less trick in his eye and more sincerity in his countenance. He is aristocratic in his bearing while being actually very democratic. In politics, he has been an intrepid fighter for reform, even advocating what ordinary men would name as "vagaries" such as "free silver." He has been for years one of the most effective opponents of the "saloon" and has done much to introduce Prohibition.

Although progressive in politics—the realm with which he is most familiar—in theological matters he is classed as being very reactionary. In this he may be said to be typically American. He admitted that he had never advanced a new idea, but said he had been busy defending and holding fast to the things that were true. When Mr. Bryan remains in the political realm, he is superb; but when he goes over into the theological world, he is out of his depths. There was once a man in American life who made a similar mistake,—Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist. When he stuck to the great theme of his message,—God is Love,—a theme which in the beginning he blazoned forth everywhere, he was magnificent. But toward the end of his life he entered the theological sphere, and "knew" more than all the theologians, and called the ministers down for "higher criticism," he lost his power. So, to me it was rather pathetic to see the "peerless orator" —Mr. Bryan—making sport of so patient a scholar as Mr. Darwin,—who in the realm of biology was as peerless as Mr. Bryan in the realm of oratory. It was still more pathetic to see the 2500 men drinking it in.

Mr. Bryan, after paying his respects to the teachers of evolution in the colleges, who were thus destroying faith in God and in the Bible, went on to take the ground—which may be said to be rather an American way of approach—that such professors should be dropped from the faculty. "The man who gets his pay from taxation should not be permitted to go on destroying the faith of our children. The hand that writes the paycheck should determine the teaching." He is pleasantly dogmatic on this matter,—persistently dogmatic. In so liberal a state as California—breeding place of tennis players—a committee is now at work seeking to determine, for the state schools, whether evolution can be harmonized with the Bible. Mr. Bryan thinks, it can't.

Mr. Bryan made a noble and moving plea for Christianity and the value of the Bible—and these impressions will probably remain with those 2500 men, after his criticisms have faded away—but he was certain that to imply that mankind had come up from lower forms of life, through evolution, took God out of the Universe and destroyed the Bible. The picture I have given is of a cross-section of American life, and to be noted in any judgment of the nation. Of course, there are tens of thousands who care nothing for these things, and other thousands who would ally themselves with those called progressive, throughout the world. There is, however, a multitude of Americans who possess what is called the "theological temper" who would cast into outer darkness those who disagree. These must be reckoned with socially, politically as well as religiously.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Living Religions and the Bahai Movement*

During the week which has just ended, more than a dozen of the principal forms of religion—non-Christian and non-Judaic—the forms of religion we were taught to stigmatise as "heathen"—have been expounding their views to one another; and lo! their coming together has been found "conducive to love and unity." Those who followed the Conference through its various expositions, became conscious of a thought growing more and more into a conviction,—the staggering thought and conviction, namely, that, spite of all surface differences, the living religions are characterized by a fundamental unity. Where one may have expected conflict we find concord; where he anticipated antagonism we have found reconciliation; and where he looked for contraries we have discovered unities. Throughout these wonderful days, indeed, we have been receiving an object-lesson in the noble science of Comparative Religion. The old presumptions have been shriveling up before our eyes. Our ears have heard,—not the brazen discords of a sectarian jazz band, but the harmonious notes of a spiritual symphony. The note of our age is reconciliation; and the grand symphony of the Universal has received new expression from the lips of the various exponents of the common faith. It is through the unity of the spirit exemplified in this Conference that the peace of the world will be finally secured.

Of all the notes in the General Evangel, none has sounded sweeter and clearer than that uttered by Baha-u-ullah and his successor Abdul Baha, whose gracious, healing message some of us were privileged to hear from his own lips some years ago. The Bahai Movement occupies a foremost place among those new orientations which make for universal harmony and peace. It emphasizes the unity of the spirit of man, the unity of the religions in their essential characteristics and principles, and it prophesies and prepares the way for the final unity of the races.

What constitutes a "living religion"? Mr. Victor Branford, in his illuminating book on the subject, defines a "living religion" as one that has risen from a nature-religion to a spirit-religion, and which continues to enrich itself by social adaptations and the growing truths of science. May I add to the description the idea that a "living religion" is one that teaches and inspires men and women to *live*—to live rationally, unselfishly, and fully. Following the lead of the Conference, it is clear that the trend of every form of religion in the world to-day is towards three great unities—the unity of God, the unity of man, and the unity (or comm-unity) of interests. I further assume that the spirit of religion—like the atmosphere around our bodies—seeks to induce the peace of God in the heart, and the peace of the world between nations.

First, take the idea of the unity of God. History makes it clear that divided deities imply divided peo-

* An address delivered before the Free Religious Society in London, England, September 28, 1924.

ples. The age of tribal deities was the age of tribal wars: imperial deities have landed us in imperial wars. The ascent of man is traced by his successive advances from the cave to the hut, from the hut to the village, from the village to the city, from the city to the nation, from the nation to the empire, from the empire to humanity. The last step awaits to be taken. The tribal chiefs were merely super-savages who frequently offered their war captives in sacrifice to their gods. The imperial savages of to-day are content to penalize their beaten foes by impossible exactions, and by reducing them to industrial helotry. The moral ascent of peoples is marked by successive discoveries that national "rights" are not seldom international "wrongs." In the extent to which communities cease to attribute their own preferences and passions to the gods—in that degree does brotherhood become possible. When go the hostile gods, away go national hostilities.

To us, the history of the *Semites* is the most familiar example. Semitic history opens upon a whole catalogue of tribal gods—Asshur of the Assyrians, Chemosh of the Moabites, Moloch of the Ammonites, Jehovah of the Hebrews. Monotheism was not yet born, and therefore separation was inevitable. A common religion is the most powerful of bonds, within its own limits, and when the limits are recognized to be no narrower than the human race, we get a bond of brotherhood that cannot be broken. When the Assyrians invaded Judah, Sennacherib warned the Israelites that they need not think to be protected by their tribal Jehovah; for the gods of Samaria and other nations had been unable to protect their devotees from his—the Assyrian power; that is, from the Assyrian gods, who were more powerful than those of the Israelites (2 Kings xviii. 32-35). When the Assyrians carried away the Northern tribes of Samaria and repeopled the land with Babylonians, it is curiously stated that the new colonists did not know how to worship "the god of the land," who therefore became angry and punished them by an invasion of lions, so that they had to bring some of the Samarian priests back to restore the worship of "the god of the land," who was obviously an *indigenous* deity, as anthropologists term it,—a deity who is limited and confined to the very soil, and unable to cross the border to succour his worshipers (2 Kings xvii. 26). This idea of the *indigenous* deity—the deity rooted in and confined to the very soil of a country—is curiously exemplified by the story of Naaman the Syrian, who, after being cured of his leprosy by the Hebrew Elisha, begged to carry back to Syria two mule-loads of Palestinian earth—a few spadefuls of Jehovah's land—on which, in Syria, he might build an altar, and offer sacrifice (2 Kings v. 17). At that primitive stage of theology, the least conception of *humanity* was impossible, or of a *united race*, or of the *general good*.

On this occasion, time forbids me to trace the expansion of theology in the Semitic and other Oriental forms of religion, with their glimmerings of the larger truth and wider internationalism; such as are found, for example, in the Hebrew drama of *Jonah*. To the Greek Stoics belongs the credit of first and definitely affirming the notion of the *brotherhood of man*, from which in turn sprang the idea of *natural rights;* but it was not till the break up of the Roman empire followed by the conflicts between emperor and pope and the appalling wars that acompanied the passing of feudalism—it was not till then, I say, that the idea of international law formulated itself in the human mind, was expressed by Grotius the Dutch jurist, and is now embodied in the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

Theological prejudice involved in the idea of tribal or national deities bore inevitable sour fruit in the shape of *national prejudice*, which, with the possible exception of *sectarian bigotry*, is perhaps the most invincible foe of human progress. Hard to uproot are these hostile traditions! True ideas take long to realize, but the principle of progress *is* in the idea, and we cannot doubt, that the wide acceptance of the unity of God will be accompanied by a corresponding abatement of racial instincts, suspicions, and fears. The idea that nations are *independent entities* will yield to that of *human solidarity*. The realization of human solidarity will place the fact of *interdependence* beyond dispute. *Mutuality* will take the place of hostility. *Cooperation* will replace competition. Instead of the false notion that a nation is endangered by the prosperity of its rivals, and that competition to the extent of war is necessary for self-preservation, we shall get the true notion of a *community of interests*, when every commercial tariff will be erased, every trade barrier thrown down; when every custom house will be turned into an international club and every barracks into an international theatre. With the old gods will pass away the old traditions and the old statesmen, and the human race will have entered definitely on the era of Universal Peace.

For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame;—
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.
—*Lowell.*

If I am asked to furnish warrant for these shining expectations, I refer you to the Conference of Living Religions, which clearly intimates that religion is now striving to unite on the things that are fundamental and common to human nature. I have long seen, and frequently pointed out, that the religions of the Orient were becoming subject to the same liberalizing influences as were those of the West. Criticism, science, and sociology are at work upon the Rig-Veda as well as upon the New Testament, and upon the Koran as well as upon the Bible. The spirit of the East and of the West is evolving a common perception and a common purpose—the perception of the *unity of God*, and the purpose of *unity of man;* the mystical concept of the Kingdom of Heaven striving to realize itself in a Commonwealth of Nations—the grand dream of all the ages, bequeathed to this age to realize in one great, pacific, *World-State*.

Is it a dream?
Nay, but the lack of it the dream,
And failing it, life's lore and wealth a dream,
And all the world a dream.
—*Walt Whitman.*

It is plain that the idea of the unity of man follows on that of the unity of God. This is the rock on which to build the civilization of the future—the common nature underlying all differences; while the militaristic civilization based on division and mistrust—"our unsurpassed civilization," as an affected writer puts it—sinks deeper and deeper into the blood-soaked sands of time.

Let no one, however, suppose that our task is done!

Let no one exclaim with the Lotos-eaters, "Here will we rest." Progressive religion has yet stern work to do. It has to despatch the *Ecclesiastical Gods* to the same limbo as the vanishing Gods of the Tribe. The externalities of religion have to be cut away like dead branches, that the inner life, the life of the soul, the Communal Life of the race, may expand and bear its myriad fruits for the healing and enrichment of the peoples. The idea of divine favoritism must be banished from every form of religion—the ideals of special privilege, chosen peoples, exclusive revelations, nationalistic incarnations, salvation limited by sacramental and liturgical conditions,—all these egoistic ideals must be eliminated. A deity with ecclesiastical prejudices can deliver mankind no more than a deity with tribal prejudices. The ecclesiastical deities have given us divided America and sundered India and distracted Europe. During the war, the ecclesiastical deities gave us the spectacle of Protestant Britain, Roman Catholic Belgium, Greek Russia, and Free-thinking France united against Protestant Germany, Roman Catholic Austria, and Mahommedan Turkey. They fortified the hills around Nazareth with big guns, and surrounded Bethlehem with barbed-wire entanglements. The old tribal deities were resurrected "for the duration of the war," and clothed in the garb of modern ecclesiasticism.

The ecclesiastical deities pursue their victims to the bitter end, to the death, as men say. For example, according to newspaper records, five hundred men were drowned, and Mother Nature asked no questions, but buried them in one common ocean-grave. Three of the dead, however, were washed ashore, of whom one proved to be a Roman Catholic, the second a Greek Christian, and the third an Anglican, so they buried them in three separate graveyards! In a letter to Abdul Baha, the late Arminius Vambéry that great Orientalist and traveller, confessed that he had at different times professed himself a Jew, a Christian, a Mohammedan, and a Zoroastrian, in order to discover the truth of things for himself, and had found that "all these religions have become the instruments of tyranny and oppression in the hands of rulers and governors, and they are the causes of the destruction of the world of humanity." For these reasons, Vambéry enlisted himself on the side of Abdul Baha, and accepted with joy the prospect of a fundamental basis for a universal religion of God being laid through his efforts.

Let us face the hard truth. As we have to get rid of prejudice, pride, patriotism and nationalism in the world of politics, so we have to abolish partisanship, particularism, and exclusive claims of truth, messiahship, etc., from religion. Christians have usually stigmatised Mohammedanism as an intolerant form of religion; but the late Canon Cheyne—Christian scholar and dignitary of the Church—expressly accused Christianity of being "intolerant of other religions," while, in the same book,* he upholds the Bahai Movement (along with the Brahmo Somaj) as making for the spiritual unification of all peoples; for which reason he had attached himself to the movement.

In this way, as it seems, will comm-unity of interest be reached through the unity of man, as that is reached through the unity of God. While the political leaders of the world—quite sincerely no doubt, for they are all terribly frightened—are striving to substitute for the old war-provoking "Balance of Power" a pacific League or "Concert of Nations," it is for the religious leaders of mankind to create a symphony or sisterhood of religions. That is the thing which presses. It calls for an early and far more representative Conference of Religions to consider the one vital question of the peace of the world. I can think of no one better qualified to convene such a World-Conference of religious representatives than is the head of the Bahai movement—Shoghi Effendi.

I hope I shall not die before seeing the completion of that great *"Mashreq'ul-Azkar"*—the Dawning Place of the Mention of God—on the shore of Lake Michigan—designed to be a vast and hospitable gathering place for all the religions of the world; a resplendent symbol of the unity of man in the Oneness of God; and I might hope also to witness the completion of that similar Centre of Universal Religion, The Hall of All Religions as a great Peace Memorial—now being projected in India, even in the sacred city of Benares itself.

It is a wonderful thing that, in the very life-time of some here present, the great movement set in motion in Persia by the Bab, sanctified by his own blood and the blood of twenty thousand followers—extended and fortified by Baha-u-llah through 40 years of captivity—and proclaimed to the Western world by the golden tongue of Abdul Baha—the Chrysostom of the movement—should be universally acclaimed as expressing the chief hope of the world. All forms of religion are essentially the same, it teaches—all prophets and teachers of truth are true—all men are brothers—women are equals with men—equal education—equal opportunity—this pure universalism, this exemplification of clear thinking and noble living, and, I may add, holy dying, is not indeed confined to the Bahai Movement;—it is proclaimed and followed by some I have already mentioned, and by others, including the Free Religious Movement—but it has been so expressly set forth by the sanctified sagacity of Baha-u-llah, proclaimed by the silver eloquence of Abdul Baha, and watered by the blood of twice ten thousand martyrs—that the Bahai may by all generous minds be regarded as first among many brethren.

Here is a highly devotional form of religion, offering full encouragement to the spiritual and aspirational side of human nature, but at the same time giving *dis*-couragement to its superstitious tendencies; a religion disclaiming supernatural sanctions, non-miraculous, ethical, pacifist, humanist, universalist, yet withal profoundly spiritual;—to such a religion the blundering blood-stained world may hopefully look for guidance and inspiration. I was particularly struck by the paragraph in Shoghi Effendi's paper (read to the Conference by Mr. Mountford Mills), in which the writer referred to the economic situation. Amid much reading of economics, I do not remember to have seen the trouble so clearly diagnosed as in the first sentence I am about to quote or the remedy more clearly set forth than in the last:

> Now by the fear that is based on the idea of poverty either actual or prospective, the human soul is ever turned downward into nature, where the predominant law is the struggle for existence; and becoming dominated by this law, and captive to it, the soul struggles only the more heavily under the burden of its own chains. For the struggle for existence sets off the powers of one soul against the powers of another, and this mutual division of powers means mutual defeat. Thus in this day the sciences and inventions which shadow forth a universal order, and dumbly signify the existence of a reality whose law is co-operation, have become, through perversion, the greatest menace to the existence of mankind.

* "The Reconciliation of Races and Religions."

The disease which afflicts the body of humanity is lack of love and absence of altruism. In the hearts of men no real love is found, and the condition is such that unless their susceptibilities are awakened by some power so that unity, love and accord develop within them, there can be no healing, no relief among mankind.

This pure Universalism, this great *humanist* religion, is fast outrunning both church and synagogue, both mosque and temple, and will speedily cover the earth with the glow of a brighter day. A European Club in China one day gathers Russians, Frenchmen, Germans, Austrians, Britons, Americans; they shake hands all round and sing Burns' immortal "Auld Lang Syne"! The soldiers at the front could with difficulty be kept from fraternizing—they stopped the fighting and sang Christmas carols in Flanders. Verily there is neither Jew nor Greek, Russian, French, German, Indian, African, nor Turk, but all are on in humanity and Humanity's God. On the altar of this glorious Universalism let us sacrifice our patriotic pride, our racial antagonisms, our religious antipathies, our theological prepossessions, our church limitations! To this blessed Gospel of Reconciliation let us dedicate our lives!

We see our way as birds their trackless way,
We shall arrive! what time, what circuit first,
We ask not; but unless God send his hail
Or blinding fireballs, sleet or stifling snow,
In some time, his good time, we shall arrive.

—*Walter Walsh.*

A Soldier's Monument in a Country Town

Edwin D. Mead gave the address at the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument in Chesterfield, N. H., his native town, on the recent Old Home Day. The address was mainly a review of the history of the town in its relation to the successive wars, from the Revolution to the World War. Mr. Mead then said:

"This monument is not a monument to *war,* but to the men of our little town, who, in the wars in which she shared, offered their services and their lives. Such men we all honor; and had any of them fallen—no soldier from the town was ever killed on the battlefield in all her history—all alike, would to such pay special honor, as all alike paid honor to the firemen who fell fighting the Boston fire and to the doctors and nurses who fell fighting the yellow fever at New Orleans and Havana. That would be true even if we all hated war in general, and our American wars in particular, as the old Chesterfield town meetings hated the war of 1812. I do not so view them. As to the war with Mexico, I agree with General Grant, who as a young lieutenant served in it, that "it was one of the most unjust wars ever waged by a stronger against a weaker people." As to the war with Spain, I agree with James Ford Rhodes, our greatest historian of the period, and John D. Long, our Secretary of the Navy during the war, that it was utterly unnecessary and therefore wrong. The message from the Spanish government acceding to all our demands respecting Cuba was already in Washington when we declared war; and had Grover Cleveland or Calvin Coolidge been president, the war would not have occurred.

With the war for Independence and the war for the Union the case was utterly different. No reasonable effort was spared to avert them, and the issues involved had passed beyond compromise. I know of no other way in which, humanity being at the stage it was, the imperative rights at stake could be secured. Washington and Lincoln, in 1775 and 1861, did in my judgment the best they then could do—and history justifies them. The great statesmen of England itself, Chatham, Burke, Fox, and all whom England and we ourselves now alike honor, declared boldly in Parliament and out of it, that our cause in 1775 was the cause of English law and liberty, and thanked God that America had resisted. John Morley, the great English statesman of our own day, pronounced our war for the Union the one holy war of modern times.

Our great leaders in the Revolution and the Civil War were not men who loved war, but loved peace. "My first wish," said Washington near the close of his life, "is to see war banished from the earth." Franklin said, and said repeatedly, "There never was a good war, nor a bad peace." Jefferson hated war more than either of them, and arraigned more warmly its wickedness and waste. He could not tolerate the thought that our new republic should perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe, but demanded that it should lead the nations to a new era of peace. Lincoln sanctioned war for the Union because he knew no other way to save the Union. Sherman said, "War is hell." Grant's best remembered word, graved on his monument is, "Let us have Peace." When he visited London after he was President, and the commander of the English army proffered a review of an army corps in his honor, he courteously declined the offer, and said he wished that he might never see a military parade again. What would these great men say to the ostentatious splurge planned by our military men for September 12, at a time when Secretary Hughes has just solemnly declared that we are in no possible danger from any other power or combination of powers and have no need to demonstrate our ability to defend ourselves, since no one doubts it?

War at best, as Emerson so truly said, belongs to the juvenile period of human history; and we rejoice that we live in an age when good men the world over are uniting to supplant it by law and a real organization of the world.

It is not necessary here to balance the books concerning the World War, through which we have just passed. When Woodrow Wilson said of our entrance into it that it was "a war to end war" and to "make the world safe for democracy," he defined it in the highest terms of which it was capable. The three empires which it found in Europe are now republics. But the cost seems to all reasonable men incalculably greater than the benefits; and these would all have been surely and soon achieved, and in a vastly better way, while Europe will now reel for a generation. Let America and the world learn the awful lesson; and let our little town highly resolve that it shall indeed be for her "the last war," and solemnly swear before our fathers' God that no supplementary tablet shall ever be placed upon this consecrated stone.

Spofford, N. H. EDWIN D. MEAD.

THE STUDY TABLE

"A Passage to India"*

I. As an American Novelist Sees It!

At the first reading of this remarkable book, it is the story that grips—not an unusual story, but it is so amazingly well done. At the second reading, the wide and deep understanding of the problem in India impresses one by its sense of truth.

Briefly the story is about a young English woman, Adela Quested, who goes to India with an elderly woman, Mrs. Moore, to meet the city magistrate, Ronny Heaslop—he is the son, by an earlier marriage, of Mrs. Moore.

All of these people are "cautious." Miss Quested, tentatively engaged to Heaslop, desires to see him in his eastern environment before she finally agrees to marry him. Heaslop desires to see Adela in the environment—so very different from England.

This cautiousness may be wise but it bodes no good to the future. Mrs. Moore is a charming old lady whose character pervades the book like a breath of life.

Listen to this description of Chandrapore, the station where Heaslop lives and where Adela, if her caution does not outrule it, will live.

> The very word seems made of mud, the inhabitants of mud, moving. So abased, so monotonous is everything that meets the eye.

Into this setting come Adela and Mrs. Moore, there to encounter the heart-breaking conditions that *are* India. The older woman has vision and the love of humanity in her heart; the younger has curiosity, a British sense of fair play, unhampered by Indian prejudice, and a courage of soul that develops with the story.

Heaslop, since leaving England, has done what his country expected of him in that most unhappy land—he has accepted the code that he, and his kind, are superior to anyone else; that the Indian must be "kept under," distrusted and ignored and upon this grave, young official has fallen a dignity that quite appals his mother and his may-be fiancée.

The characters of the Indians are many and most graphically portrayed; they move through the story as they might through life, acting and reacting upon the stupid misunderstanding that has all but crushed the spirit of India.

This book is like a massive canvas upon which is painted, by a master hand, the Story of *Wrong* that is beginning to show signs of being righted.

The native characteristics of the Indians are delightfully portrayed. Their courtesy, which the English cannot comprehend, their desire to please rather than hurl bald facts—this is ascribed to dishonesty; their superstitions and their quick and sure sense of knowing a friend!

On the other hand, and to offset it, the English loom secure in their belief that toward such "creatures" they can hold but one attitude—that of doubt and contempt—and that their country will uphold them unto the death.

Both women resent this cruel aspect of the case. The elder, spiritually; the younger, mentally.

Something very vital and far-reaching is set loose when they enter in. The small reactionary social order of Chandrapore is moved to its core by the unheard-of attitude, and it is set down to ignorance, when it is not called something worse.

The women resent the newcomers; the men grow restless. Like all who have wronged others, fear lies in their souls and to see two of their own caste questioning their motives and wisdom is heresy of the most unforgivable kind.

There is a remarkable man, a doctor Aziz, who figures largely in the book, and an Englishman, by the name of Fielding, whose views are not those of his brother Englishmen; these, with a few others, weave the plot of the story so realistically that the reader becomes absorbed.

The dramatic incident in the book—the literary *big* incident—for it is all dramatic, is the accusation against Aziz by Adela.

Aziz, eager to please his "friends"—for so the charming fellow believes the two Englishwomen to be because they showed a kindly spirit—gives a picnic. This, by the way, is wonderfully enlightening as to Indian customs and superstitions—the chapter is too good to describe—everyone must read this book—but here we have the danger of circumstantial evidence being deeply relied upon; the case against Aziz was pitifully bad—but he was innocent. In the instant reaction of the British we catch the hopelessness of the situation in India. Calmness and fairmindedness disappear; hate, fear and a desire to—kill rise supreme. This part of the book is weighted with significance. All the suppressed—thinly suppressed—beliefs of the one race and the resentment of the other, clash.

"Women and children" slogan is let forth by the English and the public pulse leaps. Impotent, enraged, the Indians draw together, and inevitable results follow.

Fielding alone remains cool and fair and in consequence is reviled and threatened.

Adela retracts her accusation. *Why* she does this; who really *is* guilty, remains an artistic mystery—but Aziz is freed and when one says that it can be estimated *how* guiltless he was!

Perhaps the mysticism of India overcame Adela in the cave; perhaps the servant whom Aziz struck because he had not watched over Adela carefully enough, revenged himself—who can say?

But the disappointment and dismay of the English, when they were forced to abandon the hunt, are tragically and painfully set forth.

Of course, the cautious young people do not marry; dear Mrs. Moore dies and an altar is set up to her memory simply because she was their "friend."

"Can you always tell whether a stranger is your friend?" asks the son of Mrs. Moore, of Aziz.

"Yes," says the small, dark man. "Your mother was my best friend in all the world—" then he was silent, puzzled by his own great gratitude.

"What did this eternal goodness of Mrs. Moore amount to? Nothing, if brought to the test of thought—but she had stolen to the depths of his heart and he adored her."

One catches, in this book the certainty that no nation can ever rule another justly unless it can be "friends"—and if it can be "friends" it need not fear anything, for the ruling will become co-operation and helpfulness; a desire for the other's good and uplift—any other relation is brutalizing to both races and will end in failure.

Read "A Passage to India" and then pray that the

*By E. M. Forster, published by Harcourt, Brace & Co.

movement astir in that unhappy land is not a false dawn, but the daybreak of a happier, saner time when justice will be more than a word and friendliness will be a natural impulse to be utilized in all human relations.

HARRIET T. COMSTOCK.

II. As an Indian Scholar Sees It!

In one respect Mr. Forster's "A Passage to India" is a unique production. So far as its literary merits are concerned, it is a magnificent achievement. However, it is probably the first book by a British novelist which shows that there are two sides to the Indian question. In this work the author has painted the picture of the weakness of the Indian people as well as the real character of British officials who have been heralded all over the world as supermen, paragons of virtue and efficiency.

As an Indian I admire Mr. Forster for his courage of conviction and respect for truth exhibited in this book. He will no doubt be ostracized by a certain powerful clique of Anglo-Indians, as was Mr. Fielding, for his folly of siding with Dr. Aziz who was innocent but a victim of Anglo-Indian prejudice.

Mr. Forster has pointed out a few glaring defects of Anglo-Indian life. The average Englishman or English official in India is not inherently a brute. It is the existing political and social system which transforms him, making him inhuman and unjust to the Indians, while degrading himself. Ronny and Fielding were both good men before they left England. They wanted to be just to the Indian people and sometimes seriously struggled for it. But sooner or later they became the victims of the Anglo-Indian social and political code of life.

Ronny changed soon; because he was a city magistrate, an officer of the peace and he felt that his primary duty was to uphold British prestige and supremacy at any cost and thus he did not care what happened to the individual Indian or the people in general. He did exceedingly well to fit into the scheme of things which is expected of every British official.

Fielding went to India as a principal of a college and was sincerely desirous to understand the people and help them, if that was possible. For some time he was true to his convictions and he had to suffer for it. Fielding had given his friendship to Dr. Aziz, an Indian who was subjected to persecution purely because of prejudice. When this happened, Fielding stood by him loyally, for which he was ostracized by the whole Anglo-community. So long as Fielding remained an educator he did not change his attitude towards the Indian people; but as soon as he became a British official, Inspector of the Affairs of Native States, he assumed the general official attitude. He then became a part of the system, a respected member of the Anglo-Indian society.

Mr. Forster makes it clear that the longer an English official lives in Indian service, the more callous he becomes toward the Indian people. The head officer of the district, Mr. Turton, after twenty-five years' experience in India "did not find anything worth-while among the representative Indians whom he invited to a "Bridge" party. "He" knew something to the discredit of every one of his (Indian) guests. . . . When they had not cheated, it was *bhang,* women or worse, and even the desirables wanted to get something out of him. "He in his experience" never knew anything but disaster result when the English people and Indians attempted to be intimate socially. Intercourse, yes; courtesy, by all means; intimacy—never—never. The Police Superintendent, Mr. McBride, had his very simple theory about Indians. There cannot be anything good in them. "All natives are criminals at heart, for the simple reason that they live south of latitude 30."

One very important fact must not be ignored; it is that the tyrannical attitude of the British in India has debased and brutalized them. Indeed, think of the level to which a British civil surgeon sinks when he puts pepper on the wounds of his patient instead of antiseptic! This is what Major Callender did to the grandson of the Indian loyalist, to torture him, "a nigger, nothing is too bad for these people." This must not be regarded as a matter of imagination on the part of the author; because we know it for a fact that hundreds of Indians have been shot or kicked to death by Britishers and so far none have been brought to justice because punishing an Englishman in India would be to lower the prestige of the ruling class. The psychological effect of this attitude of Britishers who regard themselves to be above the law, so far as the Indians are concerned, is demoralizing. The Superintendent of the Police and the British woman, the governess of the Maharanee, are the best examples.

It is a pity that the British women in India are the foremost advocates of social discrimination against the Indians. They take a leading part in inciting their men not to be considerate towards Indians, for that would be a sign of weakness.

In my opinion the book has two serious defects. First, in depicting the Indian characters the author could have chosen at least one person who represents the best traditions of Indian life, culture, and aspirations of the newly awakened India. But he has given us an old Indian Moslem loyalist, the Nawab Sahib; an educated but fanatical Moslem, Dr. Aziz; an orthodox Hindu, Prof. Godbole, and one slavish Dr. Panna Lal, as important personages. The average American or English reader will have the impression that the types sketched by Mr. Forster are typical of all modern Indians. The spirit of bitterness, cynicism and distrust exhibited by Dr. Aziz and the slave mentality of Dr. Panna Lal, which may be typical of many young Indians, is the result of the inevitable reactions of political and social tyranny.

Secondly, the book gives the impression that the existing hatred of the Indian people towards British officials is due to social inequality. The author does not offer any solution of the problem. Nowhere does he indicate that the social gulf between Indians and Britishers, on the one hand, is the result of political slavery of the Indian people, and on the other, due to the uncontrolled over-lordship of Britishers who as irresponsible rulers assume a most arrogant attitude. Social inequality between the ruled and the rulers arises from the difference of their political power. Today there is a double standard of social and political morality between the English and the Indians. The British attitude towards Indians will never change unless the Indians assert themselves politically, thus depriving the British of their special privilege.

TARAKNATH DAS.

CORRESPONDENCE

E. D. MOREL, DEAD!

My Dear Friend Holmes:

The wire has just flashed to me the terrible news of the sudden death of E. D. Morel, with whom I had been the honour to be associated as Foreign Representative of UNITY, and I feel that I must roll something of this heavy grief upon you so that I can bear it. Surely there is a mistake; the news agency has erred; but no! the stark reality must be accepted. *Morel is dead.* That sharp message is already piercing the heart of every lover of freedom and of man throughout the world. Fresh from his superb victory in Dundee, before he had taken his seat in the new Parliament, with unparalleled opportunities opening before him, he has passed from a world which he served so unselfishly, with such splendid chivalry, and at the time of its sorest need. We look around, and behold a vacant place, but no man able to stand in the gap *he* has left. He was unique in his knowledge of International affairs, unrivalled in his critical and analytical powers, unequivocal in political principles, undaunted in courage, unspotted in honour, the predestined Foreign Minister of the next Labour Government, come when it may, "he was a man, take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again." I have no idea what Morel's religious views were; I never asked him; and though I had the honour of being associated with him in the Union of Democratic Control, and in his election campaigns in Dundee, we never spoke of religion. But whatever his religious opinions were, I feel, tonight, in a world so shadowed and overcast, like lifting up the cry of the ancient Psalmist, "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth!"

I can write no more. God rest his brave soul! And God help us all!

Yours fraternally,

WALTER WALSH.

THE COLLEGES AND HONORARY DEGREES.

Editor UNITY:

Agreeing with you on practically every question, I find sometimes that your words are a little sweeping. For example, in a recent number of UNITY you refer to some institution which has degraded itself by granting the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws to someone having merely local notoriety and in no wise deserving such honors. But I think you forget that the great body of our colleges and universities are sound and that there is no one less swept by mob influence than the university professors.

As for the matter of honorary degrees, it may interest you to know that Stanford University has never, as a matter of principle, granted any; that Cornell University has granted but two; that Wisconsin has granted none, so far as I know, except on its fiftieth anniversary, and then not to celebrities, but each department chose the man it regarded as standing at the front in that particular field. Johns Hopkins has granted very few, and then on special occasions. Indiana University for the last forty years has granted none except to men intimately associated with its work in Indiana.

I have been repeatedly urged by alumni living in New York that we ought to grant a number and out of them we would get a certain considerable sum of money by judicious selection. Thus far this University has refused to consider the granting of degrees except at the completion of work here. That is what college degrees should be (until they are abolished altogether), that is a certificate of proficiency in the work actually done at the University, or at least completed there.

Please do not criticize the whole profession of university management because of certain infelicities around New York City.

Yours sincerely,

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

MISUSE OF EDUCATION DAY.

Editor of UNITY:

The refusal of the Young Women Christian Association to co-operate with the seven-day program for Education Week beginning November 17, sent out by Commissioner Tigert of Washington, deserves attention. It is a brave protest against part of the program which has drawn criticism from eminent educators, including Dr. Charles W. Eliot, and has prompted a mass meeting for protest in the Community Church, New York. The material sent out by the Bureau of Education consists of a brief program accompanied with a broadside, containing useful items for newspaper circulation and a pamphlet containing bibliographies and suggestions for the carrying on of meetings by all kinds of organizations as well as material for use in schools. The two latter are not open to criticism, though it is a question whether the overburdened teachers will follow many of the suggestions which are recommended. It is the program with its over-emphasis of certain subjects, its ignoring of others which are of great importance and its announcements as to speakers which have created just criticism. The program says, "All communities are urged to hold mass meetings. Requests for speakers for mass meetings during the week should be made to the American Legion posts throughout the country."

The program begins with "Constitution day" and declares that "Revolutionists, communists and extreme pacifists are a menace" to the Constitutional guaranties of our rights. Whatever the motive for these words, inasmuch as George Washington was a revolutionist and Jesus Christ an extreme pacifist, and inasmuch as any political theorist, however crack-brained, has a constitutional right in this Republic to advocate any legal change of government, is it expedient to present this part of the program? Would it not be very confusing to children and excite fear of dangers that are negligible in comparison with those that are not mentioned? Now that Attorney General Stone has dismissed 60 of Mr. Daugherty's henchmen and stopped espionage which gave employment to spies who earned their living by hunting for trouble and sometimes manufacturing it, we are hearing less about communists.

Under "Patriotism day" which follows "Constitution day," the program declares: "The red flag means death, destruction, poverty, starvation, disease and anarchy. . . Stamp out revolutionary radicalism. . . The red flag—danger." Should not attention much rather be called to the lawlessness that goes on under our own flag under which in ten years more of our citizens have been murdered than were slain by foreigners in our five foreign wars combined, beginning with the Revolution and including the World War?

Should not Education week which stresses public health and order instruct all citizens that we are losing 600,000 citizens every year from preventable accident and preventable disease?

Three days of the program are devoted practically to patriotism, while there is no hint that we belong to the family of nations and that as Bishop Brent says, "International affairs are just as much the business of the citizen as national affairs. The true citizen is a citizen of the world and his first loyalty is to mankind." Does not the program, by wholly ignoring our obligations to other nations, encourage that self-satisfaction which is the bane of our national life?

As to speakers who are to instruct mass meetings, why are Legion men alone, who are not educators, the persons chosen by Commissioner Tigert? Why not equally, the Knights of Columbus, and the American Federation of Labor? One would suppose that, if wisdom and information were desired, experienced educators would have been recommended? If we are to have an Education Week, and of course we need one, let its exercises be put into the hands of trained educators, and let the public protest against any contrary program.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

AN APPEAL

Dear Friends:

Christmas is again approaching and with it comes an old duty. Just now there are nearly two hundred political prisoners in American penitentiaries. In former years the General Defense Committee presented each and every political prisoner with a Christmas check of $25.00.

The great majority of these prisoners are members of the I. W. W., serving one to fourteen years in the twin penitentiaries of California, but courageous thinkers like Tom Mooney, Warren Billings, Charles Cline and many others, victims of hatred and injustice, are worthy of remembrance and consideration.

Prison life becomes a little more bearable when the sunshine of remembrance filters through the dingy apertures of our man-breaking institutions.

If you cannot contribute yourself, perhaps you have friends who would be willing to help.

Thanking you for whatever you may do in this matter, we are

Sincerely yours,

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

JAMES MORRIS, *Secretary.*

THE FIELD

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A LETTER

To the Friends of Peace, both Collective Bodies and Individuals, Throughout the United States.

Friends:

The peculiar incidents of American policy since the war have differentiated the state of feeling toward the League of Nations, which exists in the United States from the state of feeling which exists in the rest of the world. The necessity of the League of Nations as a safeguard against a new World War seems so utterly clear to all friends of peace, outside of the borders of the United States, that the American endeavor to find some other way for the "Outlawry of War," to start afresh instead of developing what exists and has proved its usefulness, frequently meets with complete incomprehension. We wish to render a service to our American friends, by informing them quite frankly about the feeling which exists elsewhere; although our League does not share it entirely. The European mind considers the Covenant of the League, as drafted today and ratified by more than 50 Nations, as an intangible fact and opposes all endeavors for radical reform.

The efforts of our French friends for the creation of a *Worlds Parliament* (to replace the present unsufficient machinery of the Leagues Councils, composed of governmental Delegates only, concerned too exclusively with the real or pretended interests of their respective countries) are yet far from success.

The endeavors of our German friends to create *legal ways for* the liberation of oppressed nationalities, are not sufficiently backed by public opinion in other countries, although they are indispensable to avoid future Wars of Liberation.

Our endeavors for *Compulsory Competences of the World Court,* for *Universality of the League,* for effective *Disarmament* are not taken up sufficiently by the responsible authorities, their mind seems to have lost the necessary flexibility, is too much bound up with the Covenant as it exists, does not appreciate sufficiently, except quite recently, the possibility and necessity of reform.

The American views on the whole problem have not yet been fixed, the American mind has remained flexible; the initiative for the transformation of the League of Nations into a truly efficient center for the *preservation of World's Peace* and for the *Organization of World's progress* could and should start from the United States.

Our "League for the Organization of progress" believes that, as a first step in the direction of an efficient activity of the League of Nations, we must *investigate scientifically the Questions liable to be solved internationally* and then attract the attention of the League's Councils to the necessity of dealing with them.

We must further on *educate public opinion in all countries* in order to bring pressure on their Governments (and through them on the instructions given to their Delegates in Geneva) in order that these questions be taken up and taken up in the right sense, by the Councils of the League.

Our practical plans for which we solicit your advice and your *moral* and *material* support provide two sets of institutions in Geneva and in America.

A. INSTITUTIONS TO BE CREATED AT THE SEAT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

To bring it into more intimate contact with the organized public opinion throughout the World.

1. Institute of Research, investigating the questions to be solved internationally.

The Institute will be subdivided into different Commissions for the Study of political, legal, economic, social, educational, hygienic, technical, moral questions requiring international settlement.

2. *Series of Lectures,* affiliated possibly with the University of Geneva, to bring the results of these investigations to the knowledge both of specialists and of the general public.

3. *Head office of the League for the Organization of Progress,* to direct the propagandistic activity of the national sections whose duty it is to educate the public opinion of their respective countries.

4. *International Paper* (Editions in French, English and German language, weekly at first, daily as soon as possible).

The official Publications of the League of Nations are unfortunately dry, "official," and are scarcely read by the general public. They cannot make the League of Nations a living reality in the mind of the masses. Our independent paper will fulfill that function.

B. INSTITUTIONS, TO BE CREATED IN THE UNITED STATES

1. To bring American public opinion into *closer contact with* the daily life of the League of Nations, to interest it thereby more directly in the whole activity of the League.

2. To formulate the *American Viewpoint* on the questions which *are* treated or which *should* be treated by the Councils of the League.

3. To transmit this viewpoint, through our offices in Geneva, to the competent authorities of the League of Nations. As the United States is not officially represented in the League's Councils, whereas these Councils are exceedingly eager to work in contact with American public opinion, these resolutions would carry considerable weight, for the good of the cause.

(a) *American Commission for the study of the questions liable to be solved by the League of Nations.* Work parallel to the activity of the Institute of Research, to be established in Geneva (outlined in Paragraph A. 1, of this letter).

(b) *Lectures,* in Boston and Cambridge, and later on also in other cities, to bring the results of these investigations to the knowledge both of specialists and of the general public.

(c) Publication of a paper, in Boston, for the same purpose. Provisions for a monthly paper have already been made, but its transformation into a weekly publication with the support of all friends of the cause, *including yours,* would greatly facilitate the realization of our aims.

Please give us your friendly opinion on our plans and let us discuss the possibilities of co-operation for the benefit of our common Cause!

Yours faithfully,
R. BRODA, President
League For the Organization of Progress
73 Tremont Street, Boston.

PROGRAM

To Be Carried Out By the Neutral Commission of Investigation Into the Causes of the World War.

1. The Neutral Commission will apply to the governments of England, France and possibly Italy with a view of getting access to their archives. As the archives of Germany and Austria are accessible, and as the Soviet published a great deal of the contents of the Imperial Russian archives, such a request is of high importance even if it is not complied with. An official refusal would be significant.

2. The Neutral Commission will appoint a committee who will examine the genuineness of the documentary evidence available which has a bearing on the question of guilt of the war.

3. Based on this evidence the Neutral Commission will give its verdict on this point: Whether or not Germany is the *sole* guilty party of the World War. The Treaty of Versailles has been based on this assertion, and it therefore follows that, should this assertion be wrong, the treaty itself is morally and legally wrong for which reason a revision is not only justified but a *sine qua non* for the peace of the world. Such verdict would accordingly form the foundation for practical politics having as its end the revision of said treaty which generally is considered the principal cause of the misery in Europe, and which, if it is not altered, must by law of nature lead to another war, much more horrible than the last one, and in which also this country is likely to be involved—this being done by the same invisible forces which conducted its destiny in 1917.

4. As the Neutral Commission is the highest court it is humanly possible to create for such purpose its verdict will be accepted by the neutral governments, the English Labor Party and others. An *official* recognition is the strongest lever for obtaining a revision of the Treaty.

5. The Neutral Commission will publish the documentary evidence in English and German. The book will be headed by the verdict and no further comment made. Thus everybody may finally be able to convince himself of the truth regarding this predominant question of guilt which has been and still is being beclouded by insidious propaganda.

It is estimated that $37,500 will be necessary for executing this program. Should it for any reason not be carried out the contributed funds will be returned to the donors. Included in said amount are $8,000 for printing copies and $5,000 for work in connection with having the verdict accepted by the neutral governments.

The American treasurer of the Neutral Commission is Mr. C. E. Schlytern, President Union Bank of Chicago, 25 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

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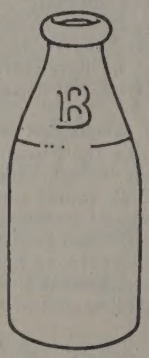

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